

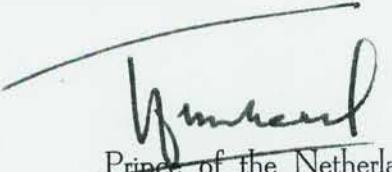
Soestdijk Palace, December 1965

Dear Mr Harris

*Marge file*

I have the honour to invite you to the next Bilderberg Meeting which will be held at the Hotel "Nassauer Hof" at Wiesbaden in Germany on 25, 26 and 27 March 1966.

You will find the agenda for this conference at the inside.

  
Prince of the Netherlands

R.S.V.P. Bilderberg Meetings  
1 Smidswater, The Hague

From the Collection of  
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

## AGENDA

- I. Should NATO be reorganised and if so how?
- II. The future of world economic relations especially between industrial and developing countries.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

15 February 1966

To the American Participants in the 1966 Bilderberg  
Meeting

From: Eva Popper, Assistant to Mr. Johnson

Subject: Travel Arrangements

I enclose herewith a list of flights between New York and Frankfurt for Wednesday, 23 March, and Sunday, 27 March. You may recall that participants are asked to arrive in Wiesbaden (which is a half hour by car from Frankfurt Airport) by the evening of Thursday, the 24th.

Transportation between Frankfurt Airport and the Nassauer Hof Hotel in Wiesbaden will be provided by our German hosts. The Bilderberg Secretariat office in The Hague asks that you notify them of your arrival time so that the proper arrangements can be made to meet you at the airport. A card for that purpose is enclosed with the "Notice to Participants." I should be grateful if you would also let me know of your travel plans in case there is any slip-up between this side of the ocean and The Hague.

Participants generally make their own airline reservations for travel to and from the place of the meeting, but please do not hesitate to get in touch with me if I can be of any assistance to you.

Enclosure

- \* NOTE: In view of the fact that the Endowment is paying your round-trip fare, I have asked our travel agency, First National City Bank Travel Service in New York, to get in touch with you to make your reservations.

From the Collection of  
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box 30 Folder 31



# FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK

TRAVEL SERVICE

399 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

VIA AIR MAIL

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

March 17, 1966

*Marge file*

Miss M. Banner  
Old Senate Office Building  
Room 254  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Miss Banner:

Enclosed ticket for Senator Fred R. Harris is being forwarded to you at the request of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to call me on 212 559-6771.

Very truly yours,

*John J. Clarke*  
John J. Clarke

JJC/mp

Enclosure

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THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Collection \_\_\_\_\_

Series \_\_\_\_\_

Box 30

Folder 31

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

14 March 1966

To the American Participants in the 1966  
Bilderberg Meeting

From: Joseph E. Johnson

In the past, it has been our custom to have Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, who is the ranking member of the American delegation, brief the American participants prior to the first formal session on the US position on the topics to be discussed at the meeting.

Mr. Ball has agreed to do so again this year, and we have accordingly scheduled a session of the American group at 8:00 a.m. on Friday, 25 March in Mr. Arthur H. Dean's suite at the Nassauer Hof Hotel. I understand that not all of the Americans will have arrived at the Hotel by that time and will therefore have to miss the briefing, but those who have not yet completed their travel arrangements may wish to take this into account in making their plans.

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Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box 30 Folder 31

RECD MAR 16 1966

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

15 March 1966

Dear Senator Harris:

In Mr. Johnson's absence from the office, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging receipt of your telegram advising him that you will be able to attend the Bilderberg Meeting in Wiesbaden later this month. I know that Mr. Johnson and the other members of the American Steering Committee will be very glad to hear this good news, and will look forward to meeting you there.

I enclose for your information the background papers and other documents for the meeting, including a provisional list of participants, a "Notice to Participants," a memorandum on travel arrangements, some additional reading material, and a memorandum from Mr. Johnson concerning a preliminary meeting of the American group on the morning of the first formal meeting. I am cabling the Bilderberg Secretariat office today to ask that a formal invitation be sent to you from the Prince.

If you have any questions about any of the enclosed papers, or if I can be of assistance to you in any way in connection with your participation in the meeting, I hope you will not hesitate to get in touch with me. I shall be here through the afternoon of the 21st.

Looking forward to meeting you in Wiesbaden, I am

Sincerely yours,



Eva Popper  
Assistant to the President

The Hon. Fred R. Harris  
1251 New Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Enclosures

From the Collection of  
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Meetings 2-1

*Marge file*

March 14, 1966

*Marge*

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson, President  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
United Nations Plaza at 46th Street  
New York, New York

I AM HONORED TO ACCEPT YOUR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE  
IN WIESBADEN, GERMANY, ON THE WEEKEND OF MARCH 25-27. I LOOK FORWARD  
TO RECEIVING BACKGROUND PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS AND MORE DETAILS.

FRED R. HARRIS  
U. S. Senate

FRH:mb  
Official

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX OXFORD 7-3131

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

7 March 1966

RECD MAR 9 1966

Dear Senator Harris:

You may have heard from some of your colleagues in the Senate, or through press reports, about the Bilderberg Meetings, the private and unofficial meetings of prominent individuals from Western Europe, the United States and Canada, which are chaired by Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.

The purpose of this letter is to extend to you, on behalf of the American Steering Committee of the Bilderberg Meetings (whose co-chairmen are Arthur H. Dean and H. J. Heinz II), an informal invitation to join us for the next conference, which is to be held in Wiesbaden, Germany, on the weekend of 25-27 March. The agenda for the meeting will consist of two topics: (1) Should NATO be reorganized, and if so, how? and (2) The future of world economic relations, especially between industrial and developing countries.

The enclosed booklet will give you some information on the background and purposes of the Bilderberg Meetings, as well as the names of some of those who have participated in previous meetings, among whom I am sure you will notice many familiar names. Congressional colleagues who have attended these conferences since the booklet was printed include Senators Fulbright, Jackson and Javits, and Representatives Bolling, Brademas, Ford, and Reuss, any of whom would, I should think, be able to give you some of the flavor of the meetings. Indeed, Senator Jackson, who was invited again for this year's meeting, expressed great interest in the conference but for personal reasons had to decline our invitation.

If, as I very much hope, you are able to come, you will receive a formal invitation from the Prince. The background papers and other documents for the meeting will be sent to you as soon as we receive your acceptance.

To help you in making your plans, you may want to know that participants are expected to arrive in Wiesbaden (a half hour by car from

The Hon. Fred R. Harris  
1251 New Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20515

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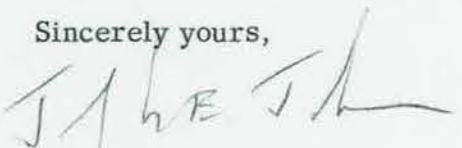
Frankfurt Airport) in time for dinner on Thursday, the 24th, so that the meeting can begin promptly on Friday morning. The meeting ends after lunch on Sunday, the 27th.

I should also add that the Carnegie Endowment has funds available to pay for round-trip transportation to Frankfurt (jet economy class). )

Would you please let me know as soon as possible whether you think you will be able to come, barring emergencies. Please don't hesitate to get in touch with me if you would like any additional information or have any specific questions you would like answered.

Looking forward to hearing from you, hopefully in the affirmative,  
I am, with kind regards,

Sincerely yours,



Joseph E. Johnson

Enclosure

# United States Senate

## MEMORANDUM

6 p.m.

Senator,

Dean Thurman White called to speak to Bill, and when I told him about your going to Germany tomorrow, he said to give you this message.

Says they are going to have a Bachelor of Liberal Studies Seminar at Wiesbaden this summer and Carlton Berenda and Cecil Lee will go there Aug 1 through 19th for this purpose. Mr. Beakes is the Educational Officer for the Air Force who knows about this. Dean White thought you might have a chance to ask how the seminars are coming!

I told him I would give you this message. Attached is memo Bill received today on this should you run into any one you can mention this to.

mb

*Margie  
file*

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THE HON. FRED HARRIS



OFFICE OF  
CONTINUING EDUCATION  
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

March 18, 1966

Dr. William R. Carmack  
Administrative Assistant  
U. S. Senator Fred Harris  
Old Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

In this morning's paper I noticed that Senator Harris will be visiting Wiesbaden, Germany in a few weeks. It occurred to me that he might want to know of the University of Oklahoma's connection there. As you know, Headquarters USAFE is located in Wiesbaden. The University of Oklahoma has a cooperative arrangement with Dr. K. Douglas Beakes, Chief of Education in the Directorate of Personnel. More than 45 students from military bases under Beakes' supervision are enrolled in the program. Carlton Berenda and Cecil Lee will go to Wiesbaden August 1 through 19 for a BLS seminar in the Humanities.

It was good to see you in Norman this week. Sorry we didn't get to visit a little longer. All the best.

incredibly yours,

22660

J. E. Burkett  
Assistant Dean

JEB:dew  
AIR MAIL

do time

W. Germany

Italy

Greece

France

U.S.

UK

Turkey

Switzerland

Belgium

Canada

Sweden

Norway

Denmark

Netherlands

Portugal

Prominent  
representatives

from 15 atlantic

community

countries

including Chancellor Ludwig

Erhard & the

Federal West Germany.

George W. Ball

Under Secretary of State

David S. Bell, administrator

AID

The Conference is sponsored by

Senator Harris is a member  
of the Senate Subcommittee on national  
security and international operations,  
now engaged in study of the North  
Atlantic Treaty organization, Subcommittee  
Chairman

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THE HON. FRED HARRIS

**URGENT**

**IMPORTANT**



## **INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS**

### **Conference**

The Conference will begin on Friday at 10.a.m.

### **Meeting Rooms**

The conference room, the dining rooms and the bar are all located on the ground floor; the Steering Committee room and the Secretariat are on the first floor.

### **Meals**

Breakfast, lunch and dinner will be served in the dining room (on request breakfast will also be served in the rooms).

### **List of participants**

Enclosed you will find two lists of participants, one in alphabetical order and one by country.

### **Badges**

You are urgently requested to wear the enclosed badge during the entire conference in order to indicate your identity and therefore avoid inconvenience.

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Agenda

As mentioned in the invitation, the agenda for the conference at Wiesbaden runs as follows:

- 1.) Should NATO be reorganised and if so how?
- 2.) The future of world economic relations especially between industrial and developing countries.

Introductory papers

Two introductory papers, one drafted by Mr. Robert E. Bowie on the first item of the agenda and another one written by Mr. Jan Tinbergen on the second item, have been mailed to you at an earlier date.

Private expenses

Participants are kindly requested to sign (name and room number) or pay cash for all orders outside full board, such as drinks, telephone calls, telegrams, cables, laundry, etc.

Change

The hall porter will provide all facilities for currency exchange.

Religious services

The hotel porter will provide you with all information concerning religious services.

Transport and return journey

For all problems of transport and especially for your return journey, you are advised to contact the travel

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desk in the hall. In order to facilitate the arrangements for your departure you are requested to fill in the attached form and to hand it in at the desk as soon as possible. This also applies to participants leaving by private planes or other means of transport.

-----

You are reminded that all Bilderberg discussions are strictly confidential and that no information should be given to the press or television with regard to the proceedings of the meeting.

Wiesbaden, March 24, 1966

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Wiesbaden Conference  
25, 26 and 27 March 1966

PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands  
Chairman  
  
 Ernst H. van der Beugel  
Director of Companies  
Honorary Secretary General for Europe  
  
 Joseph E. Johnson  
President Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Honorary Secretary General for the United States  
  
 Johannes Meynen  
Managing Director AKU  
Honorary Treasurer  
  
 Arnold T. Lamping  
Former Ambassador  
Deputy Secretary General for Europe

ABS, Hermann J.	Germany
Chairman of the Board "Deutsche Bank"	
AGNELLI, Giovanni	Italy
Vice Chairman of the Board and Managing Director FIAT Company	
ARLIOTIS, Charles C.	Greece
Chairman and Governor National Mortgage Bank of Greece	
ARON, Raymond	France
Journalist and University Professor	
BALL, George W.	United States
Under Secretary of State	
BARZEL, Rainer	Germany
Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the Christian Democratic Party	
BAUMGARTNER, Wilfrid S.	France
Former Minister of Finance, President "Rhône-Poulenc S.A."	
BELL, David E.	United States
Administrator Agency for International Development	
BENNETT, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Member of Parliament	
BERG, Fritz	Germany
President Federation of German Industries	
BIRGI, M. Nuri	Turkey
Ambassador to NATO	

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BIRRENBACH, Kurt	Germany
Member of Parliament	
BOVERI, Walter E.	Switzerland
Chairman Brown Boveri	
BOWIE, Robert R:	United States
Director Center for International Affairs, Harvard University	
BROSIO, Manlio	International
Secretary General of NATO	
BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew	United States
Professor of Government, Columbia University	
CAMU, Louis	Belgium
President of the "Banque de Bruxelles"	
COLLADO, Emilio G.	United States
Vice President Standard Oil Co. (N.J.)	
COOL, Auguste P.	Belgium
President "Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Belgique"	
DAVIDSON DUNTON, Arnold	Canada
President and Vice Chancellor Carleton University	
DEAN, Arthur H.	United States
Senior Partner Sullivan and Cromwell	
ERLANDER, Tage F.	Sweden
Prime Minister	
— ERHARD, Ludwig	Germany
Chancellor of the Federal Republic	
ERLER, Fritz	Germany
Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the Socialist Party	
FARIBAULT, Marcel	Canada
President "Trust Général du Canada"	
FAYAT, Henri	Belgium
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	
GILPATRIC, Roswell L.	United States
Lawyer, Former Deputy Secretary of Defense	
GRIFFIN, Anthony G.S.	Canada
Banker	
HAUGE, Gabriel	United States
President Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	
HEALEY, Denis W.	United Kingdom
Secretary of State for Defence	
HEATH, Edward R.G.	United Kingdom
Member of Parliament, Leader of the Opposition	
HEINZ II., Henry J.	United States
Chairman of the Board Heinz Co.	
HØEGH, Leif	Norway
Shipowner	

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HOLIFIELD, Chet	United States
Congressman	
JONES, Thomas V.	United States
President and Chairman of the Board Northrop	
KLEINWORT, Cyril	United Kingdom
Banker	
KNUDTZON, Harald	Denmark
General Manager "Den Danske Landmandsbank"	
KRAG, Jens Otto	Denmark
Prime Minister	
KYMMEL, Jaap	Netherlands
Banker, Professor of International Economic	
Relations	
LA MALFA, Ugo	Italy
Member of Parliament, President Commission for	
the Budget	
LANGE, Halvard	Norway
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs	
LECANUET, Jean	France
Senator, President "Centre Démocrate"	
LUNS, Joseph M.A.H.	Netherlands
Minister of Foreign Affairs	
MALAGODI, Giovanni F.	Italy
Member of Parliament, Secretary General	
Liberal Party	
MALFATTI, Francesco	Italy
Diplomatic Adviser to the President	
MASON, Edward S.	United States
Lamont University Professor, Harvard University	
McCLOY, John J.	United States
Lawyer and Diplomat	
McCORMACK, James	United States
Vice President Massachusetts Institute of	
Technology	
McGHEE, George C.	United States
Ambassador to the German Federal Republic	
MERKLE, Hans	Germany
Chairman of the Board Robert Bosch	
MORSE, F. Bradford	United States
Congressman	
MURPHY, Robert D.	United States
President Corning Glass International	
NYKOPP, Johan	Finland
Former Ambassador, President Tampella	
PEDINI, Mario	Italy
Member of Parliament, Member of European	
Parliament	
PETERSON, Rudolph A.	United States
President and Chief Executive Officer	
Bank of America	

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PETRILLI, Giuseppe President I.R.I.	Italy
PREBISCH, Raul Secretary General of UNCTAD	International
REUTHER, Walter P. President United Automobile Workers	United States
ROCKEFELLER, David President Chase Manhattan Bank	United States
SCHILLER, Karl Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHMID, Carlo Vice President Federal Parliament	Germany
SCHMIDT, Helmut Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHRÖDER, Gerhard Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany
SCHWARZ, Urs Journalist	Switzerland
SILVA, Manuel R. Espirito Santo Banker	Portugal
SNOY et d'OPPUERS, Baron Managing Partner "Banque Lambert"	Belgium
SPAAK, Paul-Henri Minister of Foreign Affairs	Belgium
SPOFFORD, Charles M. Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
STOLTENBERG, Gerhard Minister for Science and Research	Germany
STONE, Shepard Director International Affairs Program, Ford Foundation	United States
TAVERNE, Dick Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
TERKELSEN, Terkel M. Chief Editor "Berlingske Tidende"	Denmark
TINBERGEN, J. Professor of Economics	Netherlands
TUTHILL, John W. U.S. Representative to the European Communities	United States
VITTORELLI, Paolo Senator	Italy
WALLENBERG, Marcus President International Chamber of Commerce	Sweden
WHEELER, Charles R. Chairman Associated Electrical Industries	United Kingdom
WILLOCH, Kaare Minister of Commerce and Shipping	Norway
WINTERS, R.H. Minister of Trade and Commerce	Canada

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JOLFF von AMERONGEN, Otto Senior Partner Otto Wolff Köln	Germany
—WOODS, George D. President International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	International
WYNDHAM WHITE, Eric Director General GATT	International
ZIJLSTRA, Jelle Professor of Economic Sciences	Netherlands

The Hague, 22 February 1966

P.S.

In case elections in the United Kingdom should prevent the British Members of Parliament mentioned above from attending the Conference, other persons from the United Kingdom will be invited whose names will be mentioned in the definite List of Participants.

EILDEBORG MEETINGS

Biesboden Conference  
25, 26 and 27 March 1966

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands  
Chairman

Ernst H. van der Beugel

Honorary Secretary General for Europe

Joseph E. Johnson

Honorary Secretary General for the  
United States

Johannes Meynen

Honorary Treasurer

Arnold T. Lampert

Deputy Secretary General for Europe

AUSTRIA

PORTISCH, Hugo

BELGIUM

CAMU, Louis

COOL, Auguste P.

SNOY et d'OPPIERS, Baron

CANADA

CADIEUX, Marcel

DAVIDSON DUNTON, Arnold

FARIBAULT, Marcel

GRIFFIN, Anthony G.S.

DENMARK

KNUDIZON, Harald

KRAG, Jens Otto

TERKILSEN, Terrel M.

FINLAND

NYKOPP, Joran

- 2 -

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FRANCE

ARON, Raymond  
BAUMGARTNER, Wilfrid S.  
DUHAMEL, Jacques  
GEORGES-PICOT, Jacques M.G.  
LEGANUET, Jean  
LIPKOWSKI, Jean de

GERMANY

ABS, Hermann J.  
BARZEL, Rainer  
BRRG, Fritz  
BIRKENBACH, Kurt  
ERHARD, Ludwig  
ERLER, Fritz  
MERMLR, Hans L.  
SCHMID, Carlo  
SCHMIDT, Helmut  
STOLtenBERG, Gerhard  
WOLFF von AMERONGEN, Otto

ICELAND

THORODDSEN, Gunnar

INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANISATIONS

EROSIO, Manlio  
WOODS, George D.  
WYNDHAM WHITE, Eric

ITALY

AGNELLI, Giovanni  
BASSETTI, Piero  
LA MALFA, Ugo  
MALFATTI, Franco M.  
PEDINI, Mario  
PETRILLI, Giuseppe  
VITTORELLI, Paolo

- 3 -

NETHERLANDS	KYMMELL, Jaap LUNS, Joseph M.A.H. TINBERGEN, Jan ZIJLSTRA, Jelle
NORWAY	HØEGH, Leif LANGE, Halvard WILLOCH, Kaare
PORTUGAL	ESPIRITO SANTO SILVA, Manuel R.
SWEDEN	WALLENBERG, Marcus
SWITZERLAND	SCHWARZ, Urs
TURKEY	BIRGI, M. Nuri
UNITED KINGDOM	BENNETT, Sir Frederic BUCHAN, The Hon. Alastair COHEN, Sir Andrew DUCHENE, Louis-François KEEINWORT, Cyril O'NEILL, Sir Con ROLL, Sir Eric WHEELER, Charles R.
UNITED STATES	BALL, George W. BELL, David E. BOWIE, Robert R. BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew COLLADO, Emilio G. DEAN, Arthur H. FRANKEL, Max GILPATRIC, Roswell L.

- 4 -

UNITED STATES  
(cont'd)

HARRIS, Fred R.  
HAUGE, Gabriel  
HEINZ II, Henry J.  
HOLIFIELD, Chet  
JONES, Thomas V.  
MASON, Edward S.  
McCLOY, John J.  
McCORMACK, James  
McGHEE, George C.  
MORE, F. Bradford  
MURPHY, Robert D.  
PETERSON, Rudolph A.  
REUTHER, Walter P.  
ROCKEFELLER, David  
SPOFFORD, Charles M.  
STONE, Shepard  
TUTHILL, John W.

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## BILDERBERG MEETING

\*

WIESBADEN

25, 26 and 27 March 1966

\*

NOTICE TO PARTICIPANTS

*Harris*

From the Collection of  
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box 30 Folder 31

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## BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Wiesbaden Conference

25, 26 and 27 March 1966

### ADDITION TO PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

As a result of the elections in the United Kingdom Mr. Healey, Mr. Heath and Mr. Taverne will be prevented to attend the Wiesbaden Conference. The following persons from the United Kingdom should, however, be added to the "Provisional List of Participants":

BUCHAN, Alastair

Director Institute for Strategic Studies

COHEN, Sir Andrew

Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development

DUCHÈNE, Louis-François

Journalist

O'NEILL, Sir Con

Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office

ROLL, Sir Eric

Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Department of Economic Affairs

From the Collection of

THE HON. FRED HARRIS

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box 30 Folder 31

Stella, for filing. Thanks. mb

With the Compliments of

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON

E.  
ER 1  
11 20 69  
BILDERMEETINGS  
*DD*  
*Senator*

HONORARY SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES  
BILDERBERG MEETINGS

20 October 1966

Confidential

*marg  
file NATO*

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in enclosing a copy of the summary of the Bilderberg Conference held at Wiesbaden, Germany, on 25, 26 and 27 March 1966, together with copies of the speeches of Sir Andrew Cohen, Prof. Mason, Mr. Woods and Mr. Bell, held during the Conference.

I may remind you of the personal and strictly confidential character of these summaries.

If you wish, for future correspondence, any changes in the way Bilderberg correspondence is sent to you (title, name, function, address) you are kindly requested to inform the Secretariat of the modifications you may desire, if possible in a short delay.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*C. T. L.*

Arnold T. Lamping

From the Collection of  
THE HON. FRED HARRIS

BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Wiesbaden Conference  
25, 26 and 27 March 1966

PROVISIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

H.R.H. The Prince of the Netherlands  
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Ernst H. van der Beugel  
Director of Companies  
Honorary Secretary General for Europe  
Joseph E. Johnson  
President Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Honorary Secretary General for the United States  
Johannes Meynen  
Managing Director AKU  
Honorary Treasurer  
Arnold T. Lamping  
Former Ambassador  
Deputy Secretary General for Europe

ABS, Hermann J.	Germany
Chairman of the Board "Deutsche Bank"	
AGNELLI, Giovanni	Italy
Vice Chairman of the Board and Managing Director	
FIAT Company	
ARLIOTIS, Charles C.	Greece
Chairman and Governor National Mortgage Bank	
of Greece	
ARON, Raymond	France
Journalist and University Professor	
BALL, George W.	United States
Under Secretary of State	
BARZEL, Rainer	Germany
Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the	
Christian Democratic Party	
BAUMGARTNER, Wilfrid S.	France
Former Minister of Finance, President	
"Rhône-Poulenc S.A."	
BELL, David E.	United States
Administrator Agency for International	
Development	
BENNETT, Sir Frederic	United Kingdom
Member of Parliament	
BERG, Fritz	Germany
President Federation of German Industries	
BIRGI, M. Nuri	Turkey
Ambassador to NATO	

From the Collection of  
**THE HON. FRED HARRIS**

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BIRRENBACH, Kurt	Germany
Member of Parliament	
BOVERI, Walter E.	Switzerland
Chairman Brown Boveri	
BOWIE, Robert R.	United States
Director Center for International Affairs, Harvard University	
BROSIO, Manlio	International
Secretary General of NATO	
BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew	United States
Professor of Government, Columbia University	
CAMU, Louis	Belgium
President of the "Banque de Bruxelles"	
COLLADO, Emilio G.	United States
Vice President Standard Oil Co. (N.J.)	
COOL, Auguste P.	Belgium
President "Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Belgique"	
DAVIDSON DUNTON, Arnold	Canada
President and Vice Chancellor Carleton University	
DEAN, Arthur H.	United States
Senior Partner Sullivan and Cromwell	
ERLANDER, Tage F.	Sweden
Prime Minister	
— ERHARD, Ludwig	Germany
Chancellor of the Federal Republic	
ERLER, Fritz	Germany
Member of Parliament, Floor Leader of the Socialist Party	
FARIBAULT, Marcel	Canada
President "Trust Général du Canada"	
FAYAT, Henri	Belgium
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	
GILPATRIC, Roswell L.	United States
Lawyer, Former Deputy Secretary of Defense	
GRIFFIN, Anthony G.S.	Canada
Banker	
HAUGE, Gabriel	United States
President Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.	
HEALEY, Denis W.	United Kingdom
Secretary of State for Defence	
HEATH, Edward R.G.	United Kingdom
Member of Parliament, Leader of the Opposition	
HEINZ II, Henry J.	United States
Chairman of the Board Heinz Co.	
HØEGH, Leif	Norway
Shipowner	

HOLIFIELD, Chet	United States
Congressman	
JONES, Thomas V.	United States
President and Chairman of the Board Northrop	
KLEINWORT, Cyril	United Kingdom
Banker	
KNUDTZON, Harald	Denmark
General Manager "Den Danske Landmandsbank"	
KRAG, Jens Otto	Denmark
Prime Minister	
KYMMEL, Jaap	Netherlands
Banker, Professor of International Economic	
Relations	
LA MALFA, Ugo	Italy
Member of Parliament, President Commission for	
the Budget	
LANGE, Halvard	Norway
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs	
LECANUET, Jean	France
Senator, President "Centre Démocrate"	
LUNS, Joseph M.A.H.	Netherlands
Minister of Foreign Affairs	
MALAGODI, Giovanni F.	Italy
Member of Parliament, Secretary General	
Liberal Party	
MALFATTI, Francesco	Italy
Diplomatic Adviser to the President	
MASON, Edward S.	United States
Lamont University Professor, Harvard University	
McCLOY, John J.	United States
Lawyer and Diplomat	
McCORMACK, James	United States
Vice President Massachusetts Institute of	
Technology	
McGHEE, George C.	United States
Ambassador to the German Federal Republic	
MERKLE, Hans	Germany
Chairman of the Board Robert Bosch	
MORSE, F. Bradford	United States
Congressman	
MURPHY, Robert D.	United States
President Corning Glass International	
NYKOPP, Johan	Finland
Former Ambassador, President Tampella	
PEDINI, Mario	Italy
Member of Parliament, Member of European	
Parliament	
PETERSON, Rudolph A.	United States
President and Chief Executive Officer	
Bank of America	

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PETRILLI, Giuseppe President I.R.I.	Italy
PREBISCH, Raul Secretary General of UNCTAD	International
REUTHER, Walter P. President United Automobile Workers	United States
ROCKEFELLER, David President Chase Manhattan Bank	United States
SCHILLER, Karl Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHMID, Carlo Vice President Federal Parliament	Germany
SCHMIDT, Helmut Member of Parliament	Germany
SCHRÖDER, Gerhard Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany
SCHWARZ, Urs Journalist	Switzerland
SILVA, Manuel R. Espirito Santo Banker	Portugal
SNOY et d'OPPUERS, Baron Managing Partner "Banque Lambert"	Belgium
SPAAK, Paul-Henri Minister of Foreign Affairs	Belgium
SPOFFORD, Charles M. Lawyer and Diplomat	United States
STOLTENBERG, Gerhard Minister for Science and Research	Germany
STONE, Shepard Director International Affairs Program, Ford Foundation	United States
TAVERNE, Dick Member of Parliament	United Kingdom
TERKELSEN, Terkel M. Chief Editor "Berlingske Tidende"	Denmark
TINBERGEN, J. Professor of Economics	Netherlands
TUTHILL, John W. U.S. Representative to the European Communities	United States
VITTORELLI, Paolo Senator	Italy
WALLENBERG, Marcus President International Chamber of Commerce	Sweden
WHEELER, Charles R. Chairman Associated Electrical Industries	United Kingdom
WILLOCH, Kaare Minister of Commerce and Shipping	Norway
WINTERS, R.H. Minister of Trade and Commerce	Canada

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WOLFF von AMERONGEN, Otto Senior Partner Otto Wolff Köln	Germany
—WOODS, George D. President International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	International
WYNDHAM WHITE, Eric Director General GATT	International
ZIJLSTRA, Jelle Professor of Economic Sciences	Netherlands

The Hague, 22 February 1966

P.S.

In case elections in the United Kingdom should prevent the British Members of Parliament mentioned above from attending the Conference, other persons from the United Kingdom will be invited whose names will be mentioned in the definite List of Participants.

Collective veto on nuclear force  
► weighted voted system



Switzerland

Europe speaking with one voice is an illusion  
will never happen.

Attitude of France has profoundly changed NATO  
we must think of new solutions.



Reformed NATO on the basis of those  
nations willing to integrate military  
force U.S., U.K., Germany, Belgium,  
Spain

Denmark

Would like to participate in  
integrated forces. NATO essential



U.K.

Military integration necessary  
but founded on political consensus  
— otherwise in crisis, nations will  
simply opt out.  
— I don't believe in forming  
"in-groups" within NATO

U.K. cont.

Organization in all aspects must  
be embrace all its nations (leaving seat  
warm for the French).

► Europe has not got relatively  
stronger. U.S. has. Therefore,  
central strength in NATO is U.S.  
Some of the key organizations of NATO  
must operate in U.S. rather  
than Europe because that's  
where decisions will be  
made — and problems of  
the next 10 years are  
political, rather than military.

Morway

We must accept fact of  
American preponderance  
in next 10 years.

How can we  
reform our organization  
so as to make that  
power hear our views better.

Nuclear weapons - recognize  
U.S. preponderance. must  
work out method by which  
other nations may have "a real say"  
on strategy.

France

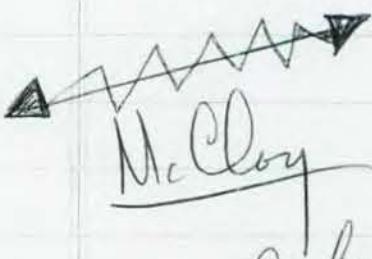
→ Situation has changed in  
last 15 years. vis à vis U.S.  
It is a mistake to insist on  
predominant U.S. strength.

→ Differences of opinions have  
caused U.S. policy to be more  
adaptable.

→ Soviet military aggression is not  
the same as its war - we must  
recognize this? NATO ~~and~~ should

France cont

late political questions in  
mind! All problems are not  
military.



perhaps we should be thankful  
to De Gaulle for putting the problem and  
challenge on the table and in the  
open. We've known we had to,  
but we've avoided it.

→ Policy involves return to  
systems of nationalism which in  
1914, and before, have been  
quite unpredictable. I believe this  
is very serious. Nationalism stimulates  
nationalism.

→ I fear - not so much a return  
to isolationist - but that we might  
withdraw from complexities of  
NATO situation that we might  
go back to a "polarist" situation.

When you stress independence, flexibility  
and nationalism. You risk going  
back to pre-1914 "mista masha".

→ we can very easily go adrift here

if we don't have high degree  
of statesmanship & resist  
replying to nationalism.

→ another problem is with  
peoples of these countries. U.S.  
people are confused. In France  
the people misunderstand  
it seem to believe De Gaulle is  
right about "U.S. ordering our  
boots around".

De Gaulle says - no longer  
any menace (that's effect) - I  
question that.

But remember, problems are  
not only military.

~~PROBLEMS~~

Problem is not so much military threat as emerging east-west relationship. De Gaulle has had initiative. May revive still-alive European nationalism. While in short-run reinforces Germany's interest in NATO, may eventually cause Germany's nationalism.

► Urgent need for U.S. and NATO to formulate a new east-west relationship (because of Soviet internal changes, changes in East Europe, Sino-Soviet split).  
► Must take initiative for with East.

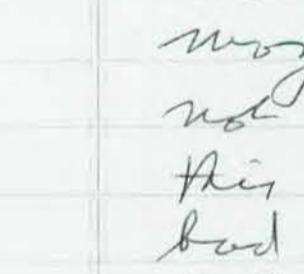
will not be sufficient

just to try to preserve institutions

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Austria



NATO's continued strength a great concern for those who are not members.

Soviet military strength can be discounted for the time being (problems of Soviet previously mentioned) maybe this would have happened anyway - but with strong NATO these things may not happen & definitely not so soon - Because of this infiltration and subversion had to be abandoned. Failure of Berlin takeover worsened Sino-Soviet relations because it forced Soviet back on no-recognition.

U.S. should realize its strength East with self-confidence.

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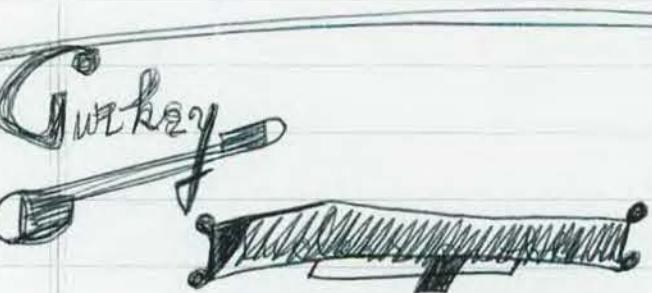


George Ball

NATO purposes

1. Defense
2. Deterrence
3. Settlement of European problem  
(unification of Germany)

→ Combined, unified Command of  
military - ready to go, essential



- Don't fragmentize or regionalize
- don't add other outside  
matters or try to direct a  
concerted foreign policy.

# France (opposition)

- still remains in alliance  
but outside organization -  
This is difficult to do
- do not see advantages
- ① my government's position  
② France now practically  
isolated by proper action of 14  
nations
- Radar detection - will we lose?
- Loss of French commander of  
NATO - What about Germany  
(French troops there?)

## De Gaulle's reasons

### 1. Psychological

France wanted to better  
not linked or subordinated  
to U.S. command when  
military conflict in Asia  
may expand and those involved  
French in war in Far East.  
(I don't think this risk exists  
because NATO part has no  
competence here)

### 2. Detente with Soviet Union

will be more active when Atlantic  
Union becomes weaker

~~for a opposition  
continued~~

(my reply - detente was result of western union. NATO was the shield which put an end to Soviet subversion fragile beginning of co-existence is product of atlantic cohesion  
NATO can be source of dialogue for more flexible relations with East)

### 3. Contradiction between sovereignty of states and integration of military force

De Gaulle has emphasized with to French people for building separate nuclear force that U.S. come into WWI in 1917 and WWII in 1941

We must point out to public ~~opinion~~ opinion that this need for autonomy is what NATO can answer

Removal of nationalism is a dangerous germ. No fear now, I trust, but eventually Germany may become nationalistic also, and irritate France's desire for a free hand, also.

*From the  
French  
opposite  
containing*

U.S. should please think  
in future of ~~strengthening~~ common  
management.

I hope Europe will have  
greater share in management  
and military responsibilities  
of the alliance.

Nuclear weapons at least  
of present trouble — we  
mustn't just say we're  
against proliferation — but  
must give Europe more  
hand.

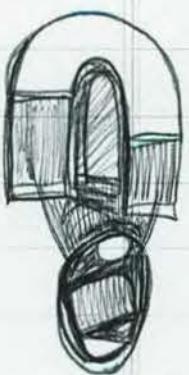
NATO should be contained and  
I hope France will one  
day take up its place  
in it.

Germany (so far)

If U.S. came late in  
2 wars - Why not  
keep them here?



also, I'm afraid  
French nationalism may lead to  
greater nationalism on the part  
of Germany.



Integration - means preparation  
in peace time for common defense.  
Also, common strategy in nuclear  
field. This is necessary to  
maintain credibility & deterrent.  
More difficult and expensive, but  
necessary, without France.



Wider scope for ~~NATO~~ not just  
military integration.

We cannot isolate a  
treaty or organization to one area  
of the world.



Frashel

1. deterrence no longer is  
military on ground but  
U.S. nuclear power.

but NATO has other purposes and  
usefulness.

~~Bowie~~

## Suggestions for action

1. Use of smaller groups  
on a functional or  
regional basis

2. Nuclear sharing

- McNamara Committee
- Collective Atlantic force
- European force

3. East-West Policy

(Trade, credit, arms  
control, diplomatic activity  
and German unity.)

- policy making body on a  
continuous basis

I would add (for discussion)

4. Responsibility in other parts  
of the world

- developing nation
- containment of  
Chinese aggression

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~~Netherlands~~

→ France is engaged in  
"diplomacy by statements."

→ There will be repercussions in the  
common market.

→ There should not be bilateral  
dealing with France outside  
NATO. Council should be kept in  
Paris. Military might  
will have to be moved. Should  
not be moved to U.S. Nor to U.K.  
(latter would give impression that in  
conflict Mainland might have to  
abandon) (not to U.S.  
because takes European  
defense outside Europe)

→ Must give attention to  
nuclear attraction, especially  
by U.S. and U.K.

→ Difficult to see advantages to  
France of their policy which  
will tend to produce post-1914  
conditions.

France (Opposition)

our diplomacy is dominated  
by one man? I see nothing  
wrong with some bilateral  
conversations.



Gilpatric (U.S.)

Nuclear sharing - non-proliferation

■ no hurry because U.S. & Soviet  
can join on bi-lateral pressure and  
therefore we shouldn't wait on  
this problem's solution to get at  
NATO problems.



Holfeld

nuclear sharing



~~OK~~  
What is desired by Germany  
if not complete sovereign  
control



Germany is not represented  
at SAC headquarters,  
Special Committee of  
McNamara is only an  
exploratory committee

~~If~~ This is not enough  
to reassure a European  
non-nuclear nation.



Germany

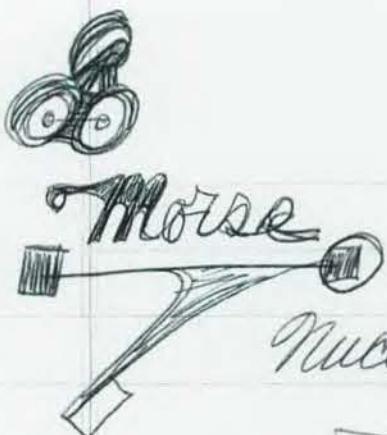
→ We have never asked for control  
over nuclear weapons. We  
want to participate in  
targeting, nuclear planning -  
our say in the decision making  
process.

→ We doubt the McNamara committee  
can give us sufficient weight.

Erler (Socialist)

Reunification of Germany would be such a major change in world politics, I am convinced it cannot come about except with major political, nuclear & military changes toward nuclear disarmament.

But need more sharing of control on this continents more cooperation.



Nuclear proliferation

— NATO can have new  
meaning by helping to solve this.

U.S.  
Bowie

nuclear costs of  
Most Europeans want to have  
more than information as peace.  
They want to be in on  
things as a matter of right.

If U.S. (or France) get  
special standing in NATO  
because they have nuclear  
weapons → then other nations  
sooner or later will demand  
such weapons.



In answer to Holifield  
Italy (See General Note)  
What about a European  
nuclear force with U.S. veto?  
Couldn't U.S. come up with  
such a suggestion & pass  
it through their Congress.

## Canada

We do not wish nor intend  
to produce nuclear weapons,  
though we have the power to do  
so — This should not stand  
in the way of expanding peaceful  
use of nuclear power.

- ① → We reaffirm our support of  
NATO which still has 15 members.
- ② Let's keep alliance together  
③ strengthen & make it  
more effective — we need  
more political consultation  
to promote political unity,  
(we must remember it was not to  
be a world-wide political  
instrument) linked to geographic  
concept. (Speaking Pearson's position)

Renther

There is here  
overemphasis on mechanics.

NATO is in trouble because  
common fears are reduced.  
Success

► we need a new sense  
of historic purpose

What's unfinished job

of Atlantic Community?

— building community

of peace.

► nationalism is dangerous

Harris'

Countries act  
generally on their

Much has been said own self interest  
about unfortunate  
isolation of U.S.

must be kept  
to defense & deterrence

(unified  
military  
machinery)

dialogue offensive

I hope I  
will not  
spend  
but I'm not  
talking about  
becoming more  
involved in  
precipitating wars

Some  
conflicting  
interests  
specify  
those matters  
be stored  
talk about

NATO must not be  
isolationist  
nor militaristic

1. greater dialogue  
with Soviet Union  
& Eastern Europe.  
(expanding its machinery  
for political  
dialogue & policy making)  
multilaterally
2. Greater involvement  
with the  
developing world

we are rich; we are  
strong  
society world obligation

We should not be bound by what  
we are against alone.

1. greater dialogue with Russia  
& the Eastern World
2. preventing a cause of war in the  
Third World

All countries, including  
France, will see ~~the~~  
Atlantic alliance at once again  
serving their most vital interests //



de Santo Silva

Comment on statement of Sen. Harris  
on expansion of NATO to matters of  
other parts of the world

Success of NATO has made  
potential enemies more active  
in other parts of the world. NATO  
members should show more  
understanding of members' problems  
in other parts of the world. This  
would show NATO solidarity.

Nuclear control  
Tuthill (U.S.)

Walter Reuther - "The idealists are the  
pragmatists of our day?"

JLR

agree with Murphy. Duffin  
Secy-General of NATO — we  
should concentrate on NATO's  
original mission as a  
military alliance.

aid to developing  
countries should not be a  
role of NATO, but of other existing  
agencies.

neither of helping with  
detente is not NATO's role.  
Detente is not helped but  
made more difficult by  
Francis' action. NATO has already  
been a strong instrument  
of detente.

### Portugal

Involvement in other parts of  
the world and make common  
approach to Eastern Europe and  
Soviet Union. Should not  
overload NATO in other parts of  
the world.

1. Shouldn't get involved to  
Portugal in Angola. NATO has enough  
to do.

2. Shouldn't make new approach  
to East — because it would be unsuccessful  
because it has military image. Countries

## Portugal cont.

should be free to make its own approaches through its best channels.

## De Santo Silva (Portugal)

I don't think NATO should get involved in problems of Angola. What would like is NATO members to have a better understanding and some kind of moral solidarity on these problems which involve western civilization.

## Canadian

### Nuclear power

Couldn't this be studied by NATO Councils now France has made it impossible to make much headway there - But, now, couldn't the remaining 11 make some progress.



Ambassador McGhee

1. Greatest threat to future of NATO lies in distrust or fear of Federal Republicans. Germany should be allowed to make its case.

De Gaulle's action underscores Germany's role. we mustn't make Germany a second-class member of the alliance

2. Scope of NATO - Sen. Harris said Europe must guard against isolation. U.S. is now involved. Soviets and Communist Chinese are global. ~~Europe~~ we are the only ones taking full world view. Europeans could help along side us. If nations of Europeans individually and their collective agency does not take part, a great gap is created in western defense.

What about peace-keeping effort under aegis of NATO? Why not?

Congo Holifield nuclear

Special McNamara Committee has possibilities for solving the problem. Support and encouragement of 14 members will largely determine development.

NATO was in derarray for several years before DeGaulle. He had not perfected its procedures. Let us agree upon its defense and war plans. If we can't do this in times of peace - there is small chance for NATO to be an effective shield in times of war. If we can't do this, there is little reason to pour into it our most precious ~~secret~~ weapons.

Netherlands

quite the whole the U.S. has been free of the "Big Power Complex" but in this instance, they seem to exhibit it. We must have a greater spirit of equality and sharing among all NATO members.



## Holifield Nuclear

By change of law and otherwise were given much (listed) classified information and technical knowledge to NATO allies -

all except info necessary or useful to construction of nuclear weapons or submarine. This is not antagonistic, but against proliferation and counter espionage and the risks involved in U.S. as well as in NATO member countries.

Morse amendment of McMahon is highly unlikely and any proposed nuclear sharing must come within framework of present law.

U.K.-NATO's role in keeping peace in Europe is attractive, but not very practical.

→ we don't have the ability and hardware to do so — even if it were politically advisable to do so.

→ I think there is resistance in developing world to NATO as policeman (such as in Cyprus)

I believe this is role of U.N. And its become more than de Gaulle's vision.

U. R.

 Europe would shone not be as a blood donor in the developing world

McNamee

 Europe has forces. U.S. has transport.

I don't see how a group of people in the world with science and other potential power can refuse to play a world role — and NATO Council can serve as forum.

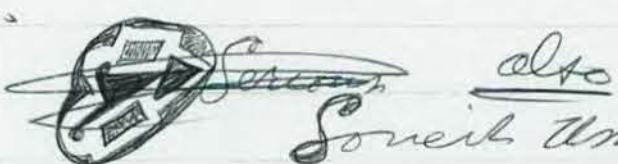
Holifield

I disagree with Cong. Morse (Repub) as Chm. of Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and member of the Majority Party.

We've modified McMahon Act on a number of occasions — 3 times in regard to NATO. I wouldn't want to leave impression that Congress viewed not look on McMahon Act as dead letter, but as living, breathing thing.

## France opportunity

Quotes Lippman for practically appropriating De Gaulle's position because ~~talon~~ equilibrium of power is established by U.S. France is to get most advantages geography ~~not~~ allows it.



also

Soviet Union believes France's independence is a bad example for the countries of Eastern Europe.

## Johnson (U.S.)

I think McGhee's position is not as good as Bruchaus' about U.N.'s role —

but one of problem in U.N. is that every one has a block except Atlantic community — this lack of unity in U.N. among us is striking. We do not exert our influence in U.N. ~~as much~~ nearly as much as we can and we should. We ought to do a better job than we ever.

McGee

U.N. has done excellent work in peace-keeping, though there's been some disillusionment - But it's asymptotic that it can't function in ~~and~~ <sup>real</sup> world war situation.

U.S. won't forever do it alone.

Prince Bernhard

Consequently NATO should be maintained as an alliance and as an organization.

agreed

Soviet posture has changed since creation. over aggression is not expected. But if NATO disappears there would be a very dangerous situation, although new Soviet expansionist policy military integration should be continued.

General and strong desire to avoid further alienation of France and keep door open - But to strengthen & maintain NATO in spite of French action

H/RH cont.

not solved

Showed we ~~do~~ use present situation to adopt and adjust and leave more fundamental changes to a later period.

The effort to keep going is already a hard enough goal without adding more problems.

not solved questions:

1. Stronger policies and integration - for some nations even though all don't ~~do~~ want to.  
large opinion that NATO is essentially a security pact.  
large opinion that smaller zones should be avoided.

2. nuclear sharing  
enormous discrepancies in strength between U.S. and Europe. Strong desire of Europe for stronger voice in all decisions involving nuclear power. Disappointed no more concrete proposals by Cong. Holifield's question as to how this may be done.

3. no answer whether just security or stronger effort to common posture vis a vis the outside world.

sir andrew

widening gap between developing & developed nations is dangerous not only because it threatens the stability of the world, but also because it is an affront to our consciences.

needs (between donors)

1. arrangement of recipients for effectiveness (World Bank & ~~other~~ other international organizations) Proper domestic policies more important than amounts. (Otherwise disappointment & frustration ~~occurs~~ occurs for recipients, but more importantly for donors, which are liable to result in reductum. WZ must not be woolly-headed about this for fear of neo-colonialism. We don't have the right not to do this.) International organizations can improve conditions easier, but majority of aid will continue to be bilateral for the foreseeable future.

2. Donors must work together

much more closely with coherent plans for working out priorities U.S. has anti-scatterization policy but we need this on cooperative basis among us all.

⑩ OECD Development assistant Committee must be made more than we have to date. This is the means by which the Atlantic Community could do more together in aid.

⑪ More attention to technical assistance, training, transfer of no-how. Board to be effective and successful. U.N. ~~etc~~ has given absolute priority here and were expanding. (Has advantages, of course, of being chiefest).

⑫ Concentrate on points of breakthrough in science & technology desalination, best control above all: population control. latter is an important form of aid.

⑬ Support International aid Programs. (will by 1970 have gone from 14% to 18% of the gross aid total)

International Development Association funds must be replenish shortly - U.N. <sup>(Development)</sup> ~~Program~~ must be supported  
World Bank must continue to be in a leadership program.

my questions

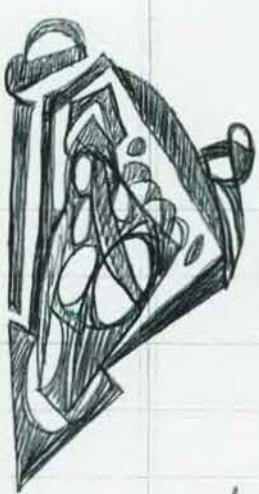
What percentage of  
GDP or other measure  
are 15 NATO members  
devoting to aid.

What about China and  
Soviet Union? Japan?

White (CAT)

EEC is not coming  
to grips with  
their responsibility  
with impending failure  
in Kennedy round.

aid is not matter of philanthropy.  
It ought to be considered as a  
matter of national interest, an  
integral part of national policy.



developing

Greater cohesion is building  
on article 2 or some other  
solution - or else  
"common bat will continue  
to spry leaks & perhaps be  
hopelessly wrecked"

- paraphrasing Lincoln - "the world  
cannot long endure half rich  
and half poor, particularly  
if the rich are getting richer  
and the poor are getting poorer."



## Federal Republican

1. Integration essential

► reform of NATO necessary

A. European unification

B. European voice increase even before unity

C. Reform for more feasible joint action

D. Change in military & nuclear control

(we accept non-proliferation)

but we want participation in every decision-making stage

► collective system  
- U.S. veto  
- European veto

► more participation in crisis management - disarmament agreement

Better monetary system

Better coordination of aid to underdeveloped world.